PRESBYTERIO - CATHOLICON :

BRITISH MUSEUM

1711

PRESBYTERIO - CATHOLICON:

OR A

REFUTATION

OF THE

MODERN CATHOLIC DOCTRINES,

PROPAGATED BY

SEVERAL SOCIETIES

OF

CATHOLIC PRESBYTERIANS,

AND

PRESBYTERIAN CATHOLICS,

IN A

LETTER TO THE

REAL ROMAN CATHOLICS,

OF IRELAND.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD WHITE, 20, DAME-STREET.

BRITISH MUSEUM

PREFACE.

WITHOUT any extraordinary fondneſs for political ſpeculations or controverſies, it would ſtill be difficult for a man, who takes his ſhare of enquiry into public concerns, to avoid obſerving the unuſual turn of affairs in this kingdom. Aſſailed on every ſide with clamour or murmur, he is naturally ſolicitous to know what

great good it is, for which all this buſtle is made, or to diſcover the great evil, under which a whole nation is groaning. Hearing of nothing but revolutions, and portents of revolutions, and reformations, in every department of civil government, and every principle of legiſlative authority, it is impoſſible to avoid enquiring for thoſe miſchiefs, which are to be reformed, and for the purity to which our ſyſtem is about to revolve. Threatened, not by the myſterious prediction of the ſoothſayer, nor the arbitrary omen of the planet, with nameleſs change, of which the obſcurity or doubt, or end, or conſequence, forms the principal ingredient, (for prophecy is always the more important as it is enigmatical) but with modifications or aboli-

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tions of ſyſtem, at once preciſe in their meaſure, and unintelligible in their principle, his judgment has ſomething leſs fluctuating than the uſual capricious jargon of political ſcience, upon which to work, and, his apprehenſions of conſequences reſulting from his knowledge of their cauſe, however he may form his opinion, that opinion ought certainly not to claim any indulgence on the ſcore of haſte or miſconception, of ignorance, or alarm. His expectations of ſucceſs, be they ever ſo ſanguine, he can moderate by the certain danger, which is at once boldly expoſed to his view: His fears, if he have any, he can repreſs by the proſpect of thoſe advantages and glories, which it is propoſed to

obtain, and the irkſomeneſs, if he feel it, of his preſent condition.

The Author of the following Letter, intereſted by his temper in the concerns of his time and country, and taking a very humble ſhare, indeed, in public tranſactions, naturally turned himſelf to thoſe enquiries and propoſitions, by which the public mind is agitated: And having read, and heard, and ſeen, whatever came in his way, or that he could find in it, the opinions, which he ventures to publiſh in the following pages, reſulted from his ſearch. If they had already been offered through any other channel, his ſentiments would not, even to himſelf, appear worth adding to the multitude of political ſpeculations. To the

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Roman Catholics he has addreſſed them, becauſe, if they be intereſting to any claſs of ſociety, it muſt be to the perſons of that perſuaſion; and he has addreſſed them to the Roman Catholics, NOW, becauſe he thinks it cannot be amiſs to attempt plucking the maſk off thoſe, by whoſe deluſions they may be miſguided.

DUBLIN, *December* 10*th*, 1791.

A LETTER TO THE REAL ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

IN the courſe of their diſtribution, I have met with ſome, or all, of thoſe reſolutions, and declarations, and arguments, which have been written and circulated, as it is affected, for the purpoſe of exciting ſentiments of kindneſs, and procuring acts of indulgence, on your behalf. Under an old and

and rooted diſpoſition of ſympathy with your ſufferings, and regard for your intereſt, I naturally read and compared them, not without attention. Some of you, perhaps, will not be flattered when I own, that I alſo made the compariſon not without ſorrow and diſguſt. I could not but feel concern for the deluſion of thoſe, by whom they can be proved, and diſguſt at the impudence of thoſe, who have adventured, with induſtry, which it might be difficult to excite in more honourable ſervice, to ſpread the ſeeds of diſcontent, diſunion, and anarchy amongſt a great people. You had, in the courſe of a very few years been liberated from the moſt burthenſome and ſevere of thoſe biting laws, under which your communion had writhed ſo long. You had conciliated the confidence of your countrymen, who ſaw, not only without repining but with exultation, that there had grown up a *new* generation of Roman Catholics, with *new* principles of policy, and *new* rules of faith. We ſaw, with all the anxious gladneſs of freſhly inſpired hope, and Roman Catholic, with all his beads, and his maſſes, and tranſubſtantiation, fit to be made a model for loyalty, ſubmiſſion, and patriotiſm;

patriotiſm. " You ſtood by us in the exigencies " of your country"—ſo you did : you ſtood by yourſelves and your country embraced you for it. If, in the multitude of relaxations, and encouragements, that you have ſince obtained, your country has not given up to you every patricle of all the power in the ſtate, let me tell you that he is a ſuſpicious or a giddy advocate, who tries to influence your jealouſy, and to excite your turbulance, by a peeviſh and malignant caricature of your ſituation. He either is not your friend, or he is a friend not worth your regard, who tells you, that in proportion as your burdens are lightened, they become more irkſome, and that your impatience under your ſufferings ought to fret and corrode with increaſing " exacerbation" as your ſufferings are diminiſhed. If theſe vile and idle principles crept out in an argument to convince or an exhortation to perſuade you, it might ſcarcely be worth the labour to reaſon with your judgment or diſſuade your inclinations againſt them. But as they now appear to addreſs you, leſs by their reaſoning than their authority, and claim you ſupport, chiefly, if not ſolely, on the ſtrength and unanimity of the

confederacy, by which they are promulgated, it may be not amiſs, while we are cool enough for diſcuſſion, to diſcuſs the policy of your preſent circumſtances, and to warn you before it be late of the miſchief, which is at every corner obtruded upon you. Hot and precipitate and zealous as has been the aſſiduity with which the public eye is blinked by this glittering putreſcence of rotten policy, and the public ear is deaffened by a vapid and ſenſeleſs jargon of political bombaſt, there is yet enough of honeſt caution and good ſenſe among us to hear diſtinctly the voice of truth, and to ſee clearly the path which leads to our ſecurity: there is enough of honeſt zeal to promote and patronize thoſe ſetiments, however homely may be their garb, by which that truth is told, and that ſecurity is ſought.

Your bane and antidote are both before you.

He, who has the vanity to hope for the pride and glory of a tenth edition of either, will be very apt to find he has counted without his hoſt, but we will "look our ſituation in the face" with no leſs fear, tho' with leſs effrontery than thoſe who affect to be our teachers, and, when we

we have examined its features, and diſcovered its proportions, we will no longer continue to admire the men who boaſt a more intimate acquaintance with its lineaments, and a greater honor at its aſpect, only for the purpoſe of rendering it terrible by diſtortion.

Thoſe, who call upon you to look your condition in the face are not aware of the miſchief which their deſigns will ſuſtain by the ſcrutiny. But the recommendation itſelf is an wholeſome one. It is with communities as with men, a ſound exerciſe of prudence and caution as well as a grateful ſpeculation for philoſophy ſometimes to pauſe in the advancement to greatneſs, to review the circumſtances by which they are ſurrounded, to ſurvey the paſt path and manner of their profeſſion, and to reconnoitre the obſtacles as well as the auxiliaries that lie in their way. Bounded as we are in the little ſphere of our knowledge and driven in all practical efforts to rely ſo much upon experiments for.

"*What can we argue, but from what we know,*" it is the duty as well as the temper of an active man intimately to examine all the movements,

and ſprings of that machine, by which he is governed, and to whoſe ſtrength and ſymmetry even his ſubmiſſion contributes; to be able to trace to their cauſes and principles thoſe effects of diſorder, of decay, of vigour and of continuity, by which the great body of ſociety ſubſiſts in health, dwindles in imbecillity, or feſters in corruption.

Without ſuch pauſe and ſuch enquiry advance may be giddy—Deviation dangerous—A man may ſpeculate upon advantages, which experience would teach him to reject as deluſive, to declare as impracticable, or to ſhun as ruinous. We may attempt improvement, only by making alteration, without knowing, or perhaps enquiring, whether it is for the better that we are about to change. We may, with the zeal and hope of more worthy ſolicitudes, purſue to the full attainment of which a little has profited us, and a little more might be more than enough.

To look back upon the ſituation; from which we have been exalted; to trace ſtep by ſtep the manner of our riſe, and the means by which we have ariſen; examine ſhrewdly the exact poſition

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in which are placed; and, if a better proſpect does be open to us, to be very well aſſured that our preſent road will no longer lead us toward it; to heſitate and enquire even with curioſity what may reſult to us by quitting the way, in which we have grown up to be old, for the purpoſe of keeping, at the hazards of great miſchief, and with very little proſpect of ſucceſs, acquirements, of which, if they were to be attained, the advantage is at beſt very problematical.——Theſe are the conſequences, and theſe the purpoſes, for which we ſhould and will follow the advice, that was given with a very different view, and very contrary expectations.

But before we go further let me repeat and explain ſomething, which you have read above. I ſaid that thoſe productions, on which I am about to obſerve, were worthy conſideration merely from their affectation of authority.

In number they have been few, and, as compoſitions the proportion of their merit is ſtill leſs than their bulk or their multitude.

To the "Society of United Iriſhmen of Belfaſt" the world is indebted for the circulation of "an argument

argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland" by " a Proteſtant of the Church of Ireland as by " law eſtabliſhed" who has " again and again " taken all the cuſtomary oaths, which we ſecure " and appropriate to ourſelves all degrees and " profeſſions ſave one to the utter excluſion of " our Catholic brethren." So far as the ſwearing he and I have given the ſame teſt of our allegiance —But—*Eſt modus in rebus*—When I ſwore I kiſſed the book and was in earneſt.

To the Society of United Iriſhmen of Belfaſt we are further indebted for a " Declaration and Reſolutions" ſigned by Robert Simms their ſecretary " by order of the Society of United " Iriſhmen of Belfaſt."

The " Volunteer Companies of Belfaſt" have favoured us with their anſwer to the Roman Catholics of James-town and Elphin, ſigned by their chairman William Sinclair.

The " Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin" have adopted the declaration from Belfaſt, and with a brief introduction of their own, have uſhered it into the world, with the name of

Simon

Simon Butler at the top, as their chairman, and, at the bottom, that of James Napper Tandy (who loves to be at the bottom of every thing that is unquiet) as their ſecretary.

And there is laſtly the " Declaration of the " ſociety inſtituted for the purpoſe of promoting " unanimity amongſt Iriſhmen, and removing " religious prejudices," not declared by any body, containing unanimous reſolutions of which there was neither mover, nor ſeconder, not authenticated by any body, and not ſigned by any body. Becomingly enough, an incitement to anarchy was framed and publiſhed, as it was ſaid, by a ſociety of which there was neither chairman nor ſecretary, nor members, and ſent out from the preſs without even the printer's name, as an indication for reference to its authors. But its authors took courage, and in a few days got a declaration publiſhed under a new name, but in ſubſtance *verbatim et literatim* the ſame of the former, except that there was introduced toward the latter end of it a qualifying paragraph of thirteen lines, and it is now called by way of its title, the " Declaration of the Catholic Society of " Dublin,"

" Dublin," printed by Peter Hoey, and ſigned by order of the ſociety with the name of Theobald M'Kenna, ſecretary. Againſt the authenticity of all the former of theſe papers I ſhould not be juſtified to inſinuate any doubts, becauſe I believe they are authentic; but, reſpecting this latter, I muſt undeceive you. The Catholic Society or Committee, to whom you all delegated the management of all your concerns in Dublin being publicly called upon to ſay whether they were or were not the authors of this declaration, did unequivocally declare, that, until after its publication, they never knew nor heard of it. Who this Catholic Society of Dublin is, that calls itſelf " *The* Catholic Society," when it is notorious, that the Catholic Committee which is a delegation from the Catholic Society, which is itſelf in fact your Popiſh Houſe of Commons, has ſubſiſted in Dublin a century paſt, you are to diſcover before you to ſuccumb its mandates.

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* White, of *Dame-ſtreet*, has republiſhed this article, and added to it all the other original publications of the different Societies.

As ſubjects for refutation or criticiſm, little is to be found in the compoſition or reaſoning of any of thoſe productions. Too vague for preciſion, and too general to be concluſive, their arguments, when you ſeek to catch them, evaporate in the ſplendour of rhetorical brilliancy; their ſtile, when you attempt to meaſure it, diſcards all rules of rhetoric as well as grammar. But they all diſcover a principle and a purpoſe : a purpoſe that ye will defeat, and a principle that ye have renounced.

Their reaſonings, by thoſe who circulate them, are ſaid to be bold, and their aſſertions are allowed to be ſtrong. Allegation may be violent, however, without being true, and ſentiments may be bold, without the advantage of ſafety. Impunity will give likelihood to invention, and front to falſhood. A liar, too contemptible to be known, and too inſignificant to be ſought, or puniſhed, and who has nothing to dread but the miſchief of conviction to a cauſe already in hopeleſs deſperation, muſt have great timidity to decline any libel, however vile, or any accuſation however incredible, that may debaſe his adver-

ſary. The ſilence of contempt will be miſinterpreted into an incapability for confutation, and thoſe, who have been uncontrolled in the promulgation of doctrines, which reaſon deems too ridiculous for reſiſtance, will flatter themſelves into an opinion that, what no one attempts, muſt neceſſarily, by any one, be attempted in vain: that their premiſes are too unqeſtionable for the curioſity of the ſceptic, and their deductions ſyllogiſtical beyond the attack of the logician. Of us, who will enquire before we credit, and reaſon before we conclude, this opinion would be formed on an unſafe foundation. We know, that aſſertion is not therefore undeniable becauſe it is impudent, nor reaſoning therefore concluſive, becauſe it is dogmatical: and that the incorrigible flippancy of pert and captious and hardy adventurers will ſay, with confidence, what it will ſee diſproved without ſhame. We know that great talents have been often exerted to varniſh hypocriſy, great labours often exhauſted to perplex truth, and character ſtaked very often in vain without credit. Such labours and ſuch talents are alſo often unſolicited and unrewarded, and thoſe who poſſeſs them think that

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there is therefore worth the purchaſe but one qualification—the capability to betray their country, for which, as their country does not truſt them, they are naturally not ſought.

In theſe writings, which we are conſidering, the deficiency of argument is ſupplied by a redundance of declamation. Every thing is in the ſuperlative. The advantages they promiſe leave Paradiſe in a ſhade. The ſufferings, which they magnify, ſcarcely take from the damned the advantage of compariſon. Neglecting the ſervile drudgery of cool calculation, they offer you glory and pride, as if their incantations were to raiſe you to pride and glory, without wealth or power. They give you protection without force, or force without reſources; they give you trade without a navy or without ſhipping, and call you an empire without territory. They offer you liberty without the intricacy of ſtatutes, and government without the pain of ſubordination. With them no man is to be truſted.

Qui conſulta patrum, qui leges juraque ſervat.—With them time and ſubmiſſion give no ſanction to uſage, enaction no force to law, and civil go-

vernment is an uſurpation, which it is the right and duty of every man to reſiſt.

Themſelves the inſtruments or the agents of deluſion, they conſider no conſequences, they foreſee no miſchiefs. The former are afraid only of correction, the latter only of diſappointment. And the ſubverſion of ſociety, in the ſcale with both, is a conſideration, which kicks the beam, when weighed againſt their projects. But to thoſe, who have diſcovered the cheats of jugglers and know how to value the profeſſions of impoſtors, who have witneſſed the experiments of empirics, and the viſions of theoriſts, it is no matter of ſurpriſe that conclaves of pariſh demagogues, and veſtry legiſlators ſhould think their diſcuſſions no leſs reputable, becauſe they avow principles, which the law has eſteemed to be traiterous, and recommend a conduct, which it has ſometimes puniſhed as rebellion. It is but too eaſy to meet with men, who, looking up from the obſcurity of their natural inſignificance to every poſſible method, by which they may become noted, conſider, as of no importance, the diſſolution of order, and the wreck of ſociety. Such men, when ſuch men can be found, know

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not the eſtimation of ſecurity, for they have nothing to guard. Of peace the reſtleſs know no value, who know no contentment. For law they feel no reverence, whoſe diſorders are coerced by its reſtrictions, and whoſe vices are diſcouraged by its penalties. To the right of property they pay no regard, who can claim none for themſelves. But, wiſhing to work a wild and frantic diſtraction amongſt us, and to reduce all the members of the ſtate to firſt elementary principles, they would take our wonder at their extravagance, for our admiration of their ſuperiority, and think themſelves ſo much greater, as they might appear only ſo much more wicked, than their neighbours.

Let him however, if ſuch a man there be, who ſeriouſly hopes to be thus admired, remember, when he is writing and talking for wonder, that wonder is not a ſentiment excited by ſafety. The eruptions of a volcano and the glare of a midnight conflagration are objects of wonder; but they are objects of honor alſo. The ſymmetry and beauties of nature are defaced and deformed by the one: The labour and excellence of art are deſtroyed by the other. On what is great

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and magnificient in either, the eye dwells, not with complacency, becauſe it is terrific, nor with delight, for it is waſte. It only requires to be familiarized with the ſcene of devaſtation, that we ſhould reflect on the convulſion with ſorrow, and remember the firebrand with hatred. And, if any ſenſations of a great or exalted nature remain in our minds, we muſt recollect that they are excited by a ruin.

The meaning of theſe writers, when you can underſtand it, is anarchy; their exhortations, where they are intelligible, are vulgar. With them, the chaſtity of language and purity of ſentiment are equally uſeleſs: and, between the admiration of that which is turgid, and the ſympathy with that which is groveling, James Napper Tandy and Dr. M'Kenna find an equal audience. That, which their followers underſtand, becauſe it is low, they applaud becauſe it is miſchievous. That, of which the meaning is enveloped in figure, and the propoſitions confuſed by brilliancy, they adopt with equal zeal as well as ignorance, becauſe they hope that its intention is no leſs miſchievous than the other.

Of

Of the character of theſe two latter productions, what Addiſon's opinion would be, we may eaſily judge from the panegyric which he has left us on the properties of nonſenſe. " Nonſenſe ſays he is that which is neither true nor falſe. Theſe two great properties of nonſenſe, which are always eſſential to it, give it ſuch a particular advantage over all other writings, that it is incapable of being either anſwered or contradicted. It ſtands upon its own baſis like a rock of adamant, ſecured by its natural ſituation againſt conqueſts or attacks. There is no one place about it weaker than another to favour an enemy in his approaches. The major and the minor are of equal ſtrength. Its queſtions admit of no reply, and its aſſertions are not to be invalidated. If it affirm any thing you cannot lay hold of it; or if it denies you cannot confute it—Of nonſenſe there are two kinds. High nonſenſe and low nonſenſe. Low nonſenſe is the talent of a cold phlegmatic temper that, in a poor diſpirited ſtyle, creeps along ſervilely through darkneſs and confuſion, groping its way through ſelf contradictions and groveling in obſcurities. High nonſenſe bluſters and makes a noiſe. It ſtalks upon hard words

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and rattles through polyſyllables. Low nonſenſe is like beer in the barrrel, flat, taſteleſs, and inſipid. High nonſenſe is like that in the bottle, which has in reality no more ſtrength and ſpirit, than the other but frets, and flies, and bounces, and by the help of a little wind that is got into it imitates the paſſions of a much nobler liquor."

Readers, however, at all events, theſe publications will ſcarcely miſs of obtaining. Thruſt as they are into every man's face, multitudes will neceſſarily yawn out through the elemoſynary inſipidity of their dulneſs, or gape out through the length of their officious extravagance. Admirers will be found for them as maſter-pieces of ſagacity, ſpirit or wiſdom; and they will have advocates, and partizans, as long as raſhneſs and weakneſs continue among the infirmities of human nature.

Of thoſe, by whom their rhapſodies will be ſwallowed, and their doctrines be applauded, there are two claſſes, from whoſe garrulity and petulance ye will have much noiſe; and on whoſe energy ye can place little reliance. The old,

old, who are credulous, and the young who are haſty.

The ſtupidity of age, without intellect to profit by experience, may give a drowſy aſſent to the moſt chimerical and deſperate raſhneſs of youth. And youth, that has had no correction of time and has not learned the pauſes of caution, will be fanciful and viſionary in its projects. But this is not reſolution in either. Youth is, in its levities and its exceſſes often pardonable, and moſtly amiable, becauſe the impulſe, by which it is moved, is more frequently the reſult of feeling, than reflection. In its ſchemes, and its ſyſtems, however dangerous, or giddy, we cenſure it the leſs ſtrictly becauſe hope and zeal and ſelf opinion ſupercede the reſerve of its diſcretion, and diſturb the ſerenity of its judgment. But impulſe will be checked by apprehenſion, and ſelf opinion will yield to diſappointment. In this ſituation of mind, (and youth knows little of any other) the more vehement the reſolve, and the more adventurous the plan, the ſooner will both be relinquiſhed. In age, when it is the misfortune of years to bring decay without ripeneſs, and knowledge without wiſdom, the

intention to be reſolute is no leſs unſteady but much more feeble. Inſtead of the intemperance, which is jealous of ſubmiſſion, you have the timidity, which is heſitating of confidence, and fearful of enterprize. And though they both encourage you to diſorder and inſurrection, yet, if they were to be unfortunate enough to ſucceed, it is by them that the reſolute and energetic effort of your rebellious valour, and diſcretion, would firſt be rendered ineffectual and ruinous. While the giddy ſhould be wavering, how to co-operate, the timid would be conſulting how to eſcape: and the uſeful and valuable body (if ſuch a body could be ſo involved) would look in vain for the ſupport of the multitude, whoſe members it had miſcalculated and whoſe ſtrength it had miſcomputed.

Like Viola with his miſtreſs they "halloo your name to the reverberate hills, and make the babbling goſſip of the air cry out "the People."

If you follow their ſounds or liſten to their reſponſes ſhame and ſorrow and diſappointment await you. Embarraſſed and bewildered by the confuſion of noiſes that ſhall have aſſailed you, it will be a ſad diſcovery, in a late hour, to find,

find, that all the clamour you heard was of a few contemptible men, who had been abuſing and echoing the names of Liberty and the People to each other, for the purpoſe of miſleading you.

If you meaſure the importance of theſe men by their promiſes, their value is ineſtimable. If you count on their numbers by their noiſe their power is irreſiſtible. If you rate their ſolicitude by their importunity, their brother geeſe that ſaved the capital were not more alert againſt ſurprize. But if ye do indulge theſe conjectures, let me apprize you that the indiſtinctneſs of clamour is as often occaſioned by diſorder as multitude; that ſelf ſufficiency is the characteriſtic of ignorance, and inexperience; and that the ſilent but ſober ſuperintendance of one vigilant watchman, who will arouſe you when there ſhall be need, is more reſpectable and more uſeful than the chirping alacrity of a thouſand crickets, whoſe reſtleſſneſs ſerves only to diſturb your repoſe, without contributing to your ſecurity.

Of the numerous anonymous pamphlets—the *rudis indigeſtaque moles*—the rough and ſhapeleſs maſs of fatherleſs compoſitions that have been addreſſed

to you, I ſhall take no notice: I leave them to ſuch of you as are idle enough to read them and ſufficiently intereſted in the arguments they contain (for they all pretend to argue) to diſcuſs their merits. But theſe which are authenticated and patronized, and from which miſchief may be apprehended ought not to be paſſed in ſilence, even by you, becauſe your ſilence may ſeem to afford them the ſanction of your authority, and, as thoſe by whom they are framed aſſume the character of your prolocutors, an acquieſcence on your part may give them that apparent credit, by which, only, they are rendered conſequential.

You ought, notwithſtanding, to be informed that all theſe productions are conceived by the ſame body, or by different bodies acting under a previous correſpondence of ſentiments, views, principles and determinations; and all, *una voce*, reſolved to purſue preciſely the ſame ſpecific ends by the ſame means; uniting or rather affecting to unite the whole force of all the people of Ireland for the purpoſe (as they pretend) of its emancipation.

To inſtance this ſimilarity, or rather identity of ſentiment, requires no trouble. You ſee in every page of their productions

Tantan ſimilitudinem qualem decet eſſe ſororum.

" We have no national government" ſay the United Iriſhmen of Belfaſt.

" There exiſts on our behalf no controul over power," ſay the Catholic Society of Dublin.

" In the preſent enlightened and improving " period," ſays Doctor M'Kenna, " the Roman " Catholics would ſeem culpable to poſterity if " they omitted to profit of the general inclina- " tion of public ſentiment."

" Every where but in Ireland," ſays the northern whig (fortifying and illuſtrating the propoſition) " Every where but in Ireland reform " is going forward and levelling ancient abuſes " with the duſt."

When tinkers bawled aloud to ſettle
Church diſcipline for *patching kettle*,
No ſowgelder could blow his horn
To geld a cat but cried *reform*.

The

The oyſter-women locked their fiſh up,
And trudg'd away to cry *no Biſhop.*
The mouſe-trap man laid ſave-alls by
And 'gainſt *ev'l Counſellors* did cry;
Some cried *the covenant* inſtead
Of *pudding pies* and *ginger bread,*
And ſome for *brooms, old boots and ſhoes*
Bawl'd out to *purge the common houſe,*
A ſtrange harmonious inclination
In all degrees for *Reformation.*

In examining the correſpondence between theſe works of Doctor Toby M'Kenna and the Northern Whig, it is impoſſible to forget the dialogue of Squire Toby Shandy, and Corporal Trim, in the rehearſal of the battle of Landen.

Says Toby Shandy, "There is no way but to "march up coolly to them."

Says Toby M'Kenna, "They ought to ad- "vance their claim at a time moſt favourable to "diſcuſſion."

Says Toby the elder, "Receive their fire, and "fall in upon them."

Says

Says Toby the younger, " Their pretenſions " might be reſerved in ambuſcade, to augment " the perplexities of ſome critical emergency."

" Pell mell," ſays Toby ſenior.

Here properly begins the epiſode after the manner of the Greek tragedians: and in future Corporal Trim has his repreſentative.

Pell mell, ſays Toby junior upon the ſhandean model, " We hope to be free, and will endea- " vour to be united."

Ding dong replies the Northern Fugleman, " Let us unite to vindicate the rights of our " common faces and our common nature."

Horſe and foot, exclaims Toby, " We extend " our hand the pledge of our cordiality, who is " he that calls himſelf a friend to Ireland and " will refuſe us ?"

Helter ſkelter, roars the Northern Chairman, " The voice of the mighty and irreſiſtible whole " will and muſt be obeyed."

Right

Right and left, ſhouts the Doctor Toby, " Our " cauſe is the cauſe of juſtice and our country."

Blood an 'ounds, bawls the man from the North, " Cry reform and the Catholics, and Ireland is " free, independent, and happy."

When the battle raged ſo far in Uncle Toby's affair, Mr. Yorick, who was a man of diſcretion, drew his chair out of the way for ſafety.

I do not find any pleaſure in an opportunity like this of animadverting on any man. The occaſion is not deſirable. I wiſh, that, in the remainder of this letter it were poſſible to avoid the name or the politics of Doctor M'Kenna. I wiſh I could have avoided mentioning him at all. But a natural and perhaps laudable avidity of applauſe has driven him to a ſtation, in which, it is impoſſible that his judgment can be uſeful, or his talents can be honoured. Expoſed as he has been, by his ambition, to the obſervation of all men, and the reprehenſion of all good men, he affords an inſtance which has already but too often occurred, amongſt the beſt men, that taſte the moſt refined, may be corrupted by the

the moſt contemptible adulation, and that genius the moſt exalted may be entrapped and circumvented by the moſt paltry and ſhallow artifices of the meaneſt among mankind.

The perſons who have diſſeminated, and are cultivating theſe perturbed ſentiments, as they ſay for good of the People, would do well, if, firſt, they would learn the preciſe import of that favourite decantatum, and examine their ſtations, their motives, and their fallibility, before our faith ſhall be ſtretched beyond its natural tone in favour of their ſteadineſs.

Perhaps there is not any term ſo much abuſed as the name of "the People." To work a diſturbance in the Government or to render a faction of importance the name of the people is uſually unhallowed in two ways. Firſt, by advancing boldly and impudently that the people are aggrieved and feel their grievances, and ſecondly, that thoſe who ſet themſelves up as the champions of the public have no end in view but the public good. The melancholy experience of ages ought now to afford us ſufficient proof that very few, indeed, in their political conduct, value the people

at an higher rate than as the means of their advancement, to feed their avarice, or flatter their vanity, to raiſe their pride or ſwell their power. To the firſt of theſe aſſertions, however, as it cannot be eaſily or perfectly confuted, more credit is often given, and thoſe who take the name of "the People" are left in the poſſeſſion of an empty title.

It is eaſily acquired. A dozen or twenty individuals, not ſo dangerous as to be feared nor ſo reſpectable as to be noticed, combine together to render their abilities miſchievous and their power of conſequence by confederacy. They agree that there are none ſo well qualified as themſelves to direct the public affairs, and they reſolve to perſuade ſuch of their countrymen as have credulity to believe them, that, until they ſhall be entruſted with the whole power of Government, all Government is deſpotiſm all ſubmiſſion ſlavery, and that anarchy upon the great revolution principle is the firſt bleſſing of man. They agree to dine together *according to the exigencies of public affairs*, and it will not be likely that, with that temptation, their exigencies will be few. They form a club, and chuſe the moſt reſpectable man preſent

(if

(if he be dupe enough) to be their ſecretary. They limit their number, that they ſhould not be crowded, becauſe their object is the ſafety of the people. They obſerve a moſt ſcrutinous nicety in admitting any new members, becauſe, of the people, the fewer that are permitted to think and act for themſelves the better. They tell the people that *if the miniſters of the Crown trample on the people they will defend them.* And then, they cry out that they have gotten the people at their ſide, that the voice of the people is the voice of God, and that theirs is the voice of the people.

Of the people, which in this country means three millions of ſouls, it would indeed be ſtrange if there were not many, who could eaſily be enſnared by this ſpecies of affectation. Thoſe men of rank and fortune, whom Providence has not endowed with virtue or faculties, may be tempted to wiſh for a name, by which they ſhall be known as the very great *friends of the people.* If they have no glory to deduce from their anceſtors they are provident for their children, and leave it to be told, in the next edition of the Iriſh peerage, that they were members of the great club of the

Blue Knights that flouriſhed in the days of Ryan the vintner. Thoſe, who do not know that their fathers wore ſtockings, will leave it to their poſterity to boaſt the atchievement that they got drunk with his Grace, and toaſted the memory of Algernoon Sydney and Praiſe-God-Barebones louder than any other commoner of the club. A man, who has nothing better to do (that he knows of) with his money, may think it not miſpent if he pays his reckoning with a lord, and he, that cannot deviſe a better diſpoſition of his time, may ſubmit to be kept awake by the geſticulations of a mountebank, or the volubility of a punſter. Of the old, they will not fail to get ſome who have advanced to ſecond childiſhneſs. Amongſt the young, while vanity is the companion of youth, they will not fail to make proſelytes. Let their meaſures be intemperate, they will ſecure the turbulent: Let their promiſes be gigantic, and they will gain the giddy. Of the multitude, it is the calamity that many are ignorant enough to hope, that Government may be rendered energetic by diſtraction, and many credulous enough to think it a neceſſary conſequence, that he muſt be a friend to his country

who

who is a ſtumbling block in the way of its government. To thoſe, who will acknowledge, what, with truth cannot be denied, that perverſeneſs will be miſchievous, and that error is not unnatural, it will require no extraordinary effrontery to ſay, that every adminiſtration is a compound of obſtinacy, ignorance, and vice.

The vice and ſlothfulneſs of convents and nunneries will be held up to ſhew the abſurdity of an eſtabliſhed religion. The fragments of the Baſtile will be diſplayed to excite horror at the name of a monarch. And a new-fangled and inconſiderate conformity of views and opinions, and a new born correſpondence of ſympathy and congratulation are ridiculouſly aſſerted between the National Aſſembly of France, (by which our leſſer conventicles have been modelled) and the Revolution Society of England, and the Whig Club of Ireland, and (to carry the gradation as low as humility can deſire it) the Catholic Society of Dublin, and the United Society of Belfaſt. Like the mummers, by whoſe diſcord our reſt is violated, theſe doughty and pie-bald champions of liberty, with their "bold hearts and ardent ſpi-

"rits,"

rits," parade in their cruſading burleſque, as if any reſpectable portion of mankind were really extravagant enough to follow their gawdy ragged banners, or join in their farcical and unruly gambols.

When by ſuch arts as I have mentioned they have continued to arrogate to themſelves the name and conſequence of—the People, the next ſtep is to perſuade the peaceful peaſants of the ſouth, and the active artizans of the north, that induſtry is uſeleſs, and labour ineffectual; that the oppreſſions of tyranny and the corruptions of government will impede all the efforts of man, and blight the bounty of God, until the great principles of the revolution ſhall be ſufficiently prevalent, and all the ſettled eſtabliſhments of religion and policy be overturned.

A club of this deſcription, and of ſome name, we do remember to have continued in this country for a very ſhort time; but for a time alſo longer than either its occaſion or activity required. And now, when ſcarcely it has had exiſtence of ſufficient length to acquire a character, we ſee

it

it daily diminiſhing and dwindling away by the inteſtine diviſions and mutual jealouſies of its members.

We all remember the inſtitution of this ſociety. It was formed expreſsly to ſupport *the ſacred rights of the People.* And much good was foreſeen from it. I remember one, and he not the worſt, of its advocates, compared it, not unaptly, to that laudable inſtitution the Magdalen Aſſylum. He praiſed it highly as a refuge for repentant ſinners, in which the waywardneſs of vice might be reſtrained by example, and the yielding pliability of nature ſecured againſt ſin by the want of temptation. The theory, as a viſion, had every thing that novelty and curioſity could contribute toward its recommendation. Virtue, ſo ſolitary it was hoped would find aid from the ſympathy of ſuffering ſpirits, and conſtancy, ſo weak, it was expected, would gather ſtrength, when fortified and entrenched behind an impregnable bulwark of infamy and proteſtations: Infamy ſo notorious as to deter ſolicitation and proteſtations ſo extravagant as to render that infamy at once an object of deriſion and hatred. For thoſe, with whom the

the age of ſeduction and proſtitution had paſt away, it promiſed to be an admirable vehicle to propagate that meretricious and unprincipled ſyſtem of politics, by which themſelves have degenerated. For thoſe, who might ſtill be in their middle age of vigorous abandonment, it offered a ſchool, in which they might reflect on paſt, and project future, enormities. Thoſe, who were not as yet infamous might here acquire a character, by which their original equivocality ſhould aſſume a more decided appearance. Thoſe who are diſabled from ſharing in the ſcenes of active profligacy may inculcate the leſſons they practiſed, and pander, now, for the proſtitution in others, from which, by their infirmities themſelves are diſqualified.

How this fraternity has been recruited, or how far its members have been reformed by their diſcipline, it is not our buſineſs to enquire : Nor ſhould I now make the WHIG CLUB an object of diſcuſſion, but that I know there is an attempt to involve the fate of the Roman Catholics in their intrigues ; and the moſt dangerous, becauſe the moſt popular, of thoſe papers, that have been

circulated

circulated on your affairs, carries upon it the ſignature of an avowed Whig—a member of the Whig Club—and amongſt that body, a man certainly poſſeſſing no inferior degree of public ſpirit, of elegant learning, and of political reputation. Theobald M'Kenna, Eſq; M. D. M. R. I. A. Secretary to the Catholic Society, &c. &c. has hitherto deemed it not a light conſideration that the Whig Club made an addition to the number and importance of his titles.

Suppoſe it poſſible that the Whig Club ſhould aſſiſt in theſe hare-brained exploits of Doctor M'Kenna; they have laboured in vain for ſome time already, where we could not doubt that they were in earneſt, for they were ſtruggling for bread; and it is not likely that they will exert more vigour for the promotion of his paſtime, than for the craving of their own hunger. But, admitting that they could be inclined to follow their brother the Doctor, ſure I am that they would be able to make, among the reaſoning and experienced men of this country, few ſuch proſelytes as ſhould zealouſly and ſincerely be

committed with them in any great national derangement.

They have held out a ſyſtem of government, which their followers preſume to be ſpecious, and admirable. But we muſt reccollect, that the ſuperficial may be eaſily led to think that ſpecious, which no man can find to be practicable, and that there are few ſtronger natural cauſes for the admiration of any object than its incomprehenſibility. Their ſyſtem is ſpecious, ſo far as it affects the attainment, by palpable means, of what it aſſumes to be eſſential to the ſecurity of the conſtitution—and admirable, becauſe it profeſſes to have recourſe to a ſupport, by which no government, that we have as yet heard of, was ever upheld. Diveſt their engagements of their incongruity and their ſyſtem of its immenſurability; their promiſes are an inſult, their ſyſtem a mockery—leave to their ſyſtem all its ſupernatural magnitude, and to their aſſurances all the faith they would affect to deſerve; then, their politics have been apoſtacy, and their ſyſtem is madneſs.

But

But to what end is this? As a body, it requires only what we ſhould name the Whig Club and its members, to be determined, that that Society never will join in admitting the Roman Catholics to the legiſlature of this country. There may perhaps be amongſt its members two or three who would ſupport even that meaſure.

There is ONE MAN among them who is ſaid to be friendly toward this meaſure, from the eminence of whoſe name and talents great advantages are expected.

In conſidering the character of this man, it ſeemed long to be thought, that the ſacred temple of Liberty would be violated, if the rude hands of buſy Enquiry ſhould unveil the prieſt of her altar, and the common world was ſatisfied to gaze, in wonder, at a diſtance, on the glory, of which, in its ſudden brilliancy, no ray could be diſcerned, and no line could be traced. But the Goddeſs had other votaries, and her ſhrine was irradiated by other illuminations. All the ſplendour, which, by itſelf, was dazzling and incomprehenſible became moderate by compariſon, and familiar, by frequency. Enquiry carried

further the diminution of its wonders: for its heat was found to be borrowed, and its light to be artificial.

To ſay, that this perſon has been a miſchievous man by deſign, is overvaluing his ſimplicity: for the blunders he has committed, and the deſigns he has bungled, cannot leave room to think he acted the hypocrite ſo badly. But, as a public man, the cauſe of his miſcarriages is almoſt as fatal. Poſſeſſing a manner moſt inimitably original, and having a knack of delivering familiar ideas in gigantic ſhapes, by the aid of an epigrammatic ſententiality, and perpetual application, he fancied himſelf into a notion of his impracticability, and took his ſtation in the centre of the wheel free from the viciſſitudes of rotation, equally diſcharged of the neceſſity of aſſiſtance, and devoid of its advantage.

A monopoliſt in the traffic of popularity, he inſtantly became the perſonal enemy of any man, who preſumed to reconcile his incoherencies, or meliorate his intemperate and ſuperficial crudities. And it was enough to make him relinquiſh what

what he called a part of the ſalvation of his country, that this effort ſhould be ſeconded by the talents of a man, whoſe rivalſhip he dreaded, and whoſe ſuperiority he foreſaw. This man may ſupport the pretenſions that may be made for you, not with any ſerious expectations of fulfilling them, but becauſe it will tend to embarraſs the Government, and becauſe he will, rather than be idle, do any thing, by which he may become a thorn in the ſide of Adminiſtration. But, if he ſhould take this part, I am warranted from my own knowledge to tell him that the moſt reſpectable of that body, which has hitherto confederated with him, have already publicly declared that they will not co-operate with him to overturn the conſtitution of Ireland; nor will you very readily concur in ſoliciting him to endanger the ſecurity of thoſe benefits, which ye have received from the legiſlature.

I ſaid that in the courſe of a few years your ſituation had been much meliorated; let me tell you how.

By

By a ſtatute of the 17 and 18 of his preſent Majeſty, the Roman Catholics of Ireland, " from " their uniform peaceable behaviour for a long " ſeries of years," were enabled to take lands for 999 years, or five lives, and their lands were rendered deſcendible and transferable, and the conformity of the eldeſt ſon to a popiſh inheritor in fee ſimple, no longer continued to diminiſh the quantity of eſtate in his father, by making him merely tenant for life.

By another ſtatute, of the 21 and 22 of his preſent Majeſty, which declares that " all ſuch " ſubjects as take the oath of allegiance and de- " claration of the 13 and 14 of his preſent Ma- " jeſty ought to be conſidered as good and law- " ful ſubjects : and a continuance of ſeveral of " the laws againſt perſons profeſſing the Popiſh " religion is *therefore* unneceſſary in reſpect of " thoſe who have taken or ſhall have taken ſaid oath" (which is the only teſt required of your loyalty) it is enacted, that any perſons profeſſing the popiſh religion may purchaſe or take by grant, limitation, deviſe, or deſcent, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments in this kingdom, or

any

any intereſt therein, (except advowſons and manors, or boroughs returning members to Parliament.)

By this ſtatute your clergy are exempted (under certain trivial regulations that none of your parochial clergy feel irkſome, ſuch as regiſtering their names and places of abode) from all the penalties and reſtrictions, to which before they were ſubject, for the exerciſe of their eccleſiaſtical functions. You are relieved from thoſe obnoxious diſcriminations (ſuch as not keeping a horſe of 5l. value, being excluſively ſubject to applotment to reimburſe perſons robbed by privateers in time of war, providing Proteſtant watchmen, being excluded from ſettling in Galway or Limerick, &c.) by which the character and perſon of a Roman Catholic were unfairly the objects of capricious rigour to the ſplenetic or vindictive informer.

And by another ſtatute of the 21 and 22 of his preſent Majeſty you are authorized publicly to teach ſchool, and the guardianſhip of your children is reſtored to you.

Theſe are ſome of the benefits that you have derived from a continued ſyſtem of peace and loyalty. Theſe are ſome of the encouragements held out to you to continue that demeanor. Theſe are ſome of the authorities which ſtare your ill-adviſers in the face, when they tell you that the Roman Catholics of Ireland are prohibited "to engage" (from engaging were better Engliſh) "in any mode of induſtry, and that "they are reſtricted in the education of their "children." Theſe authorities are derived from a ſource, to which if your adviſers had applied, they would find the indiſcretion of hazarding the ill-founded aſſertion, that, within the laſt eight years, "ſeveral new penal ſtatutes have been "enacted againſt the Roman Catholics."

The ambition and the power of your body, it is true, were not cultivated. The Bar was not left open to you, becauſe it would be an inſtance of conceſſion and kindneſs, perhaps, without parallel, to admit you to a profeſſion, enriched and dignified with ſuch a multitude of honourable and lucrative ſituations, to one of which you could not aſpire. As long as it is neceſſary to take the

preſent

preſent qualification oaths, not one of your communion could be made a commiſſioner of bankrupts. And is that a ſituation, in which talents would find encouragement, or labour look for comfortable retribution? Wherein ye would ſee near ſeventy offices of profit and advancement, for which you had been encouraged, by learning, to become ſufficiently qualified, and from which you ſhould be debarred for reaſons, that it has been found ſo eaſy to forget, and upon principles, that it is ſo much the faſhion to diſavow.

You were not admitted to the army, becauſe it would be ſoleciſm in politics to entruſt with the whole military force of a country, a deſcription of men, who were at variance with its eſtabliſhments, and to whom its political conſtitution appeared no better than a ſyſtem of tyranny, which it was their duty to deſtroy.

I ſuppoſe it is unneceſſary to give a reaſon why the doors of the church were not unfolded to receive you.

It is a ſophiſtical way of arguing to ſay the army and the bar are monopolized to your excluſion.

To the bar, as a profeſſion, the people of this country, while it continues to be free, will ever continue to look ſucceſsfully for the beſt and firmeſt and moſt uſeful efforts in ſupport of the conſtitution. It is natural to feel a jealouſy, that no man ſhould be admitted to that profeſſion but one, who will make a ſerious and ſolemn proteſtation, that it is by that conſtitution he will abide. If you will not make that aſſurance, withhold the ſecurity it gives by relinquiſhing the advantages to which it would entitle you. With ſome of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion, theſe qualification oaths have loſt part of their horror, and to ſuch the Bar affords the proſpect of all its profit, and its honours, and they are treading theſe paths to fame and wealth, which, when you chuſe ſo to follow them, will to you alſo be opened.

Remember that thoſe, from whoſe conceſſions ſo many advantages were ſo ſuddenly obtained, were men with reaſoning and retentiue faculties

—inſuring

—inferring from what has been the conduct of paſt times, the likelihood of future confuſions, and, in the midſt of their liberality, guarding neither unwiſely nor unjuſtifiably for their own preſervation. They gave you all, that in common it is ſafe to participate with you; they gave you the rights of perſonal ſecurity, perſonal freedom, religious toleration, and private property. They gave you every thing but the maſtery.

When Satan before his fall got every thing in heaven but Omnipotence—He rebelled becauſe of his exaltation.

All this good prov'd ill in me
And wrought but malice; lifted up ſo high,
I 'sdained ſubjection, and thought one ſtep higher
Would ſet me hig'ſt, and in a moment quit
The debt immenſe of endleſs gratitude
So burdenſome, ſtill paying ſtill to to owe.

You have all heard the cataſtrophe of that turbulent ſpirit.

And is it with a recollection of all theſe advantages, that it becomes you, now, to confederate

avowedly with a ſet of men, who make no ſcruple to declare it in open day, the common bond of union between you, that you are both equally intereſted to alter the whole ſyſtem of that conſtitution, of the benefits of which you at the ſame time demand to be partakers. Like a curious piece of mechaniſm, idly entruſted to the hands of a child, who knows neither its formation nor its purpoſe, the conſtitution of your country is held up before you, the bauble, for which you are inſtigated to be clamorous, until, like children, when it may be obtained, you ſhall deface, and disjoint, and deſtroy, what has been miſuſed but as a rattle to delude you.

Recollect how you obtained all the benefits, which have been beſtowed upon you. Recollect the manner in which you ſought, and the language in which you prayed for, *Toleration*. Recollect the meaſure of Toleration, which, by your loyalty you have obtained, and I ſhall no longer fear that a rhapſodical incentive to revolt and rebellion can alter your conduct.

It is ſaid that " Roman Cotholics are preſerved " in this land but as a ſource of revenue." This is ſome of the bottled nonſenſe. The idea and the language are borrowed from Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion. The whole paſſage, as it ſtands in that book may be worth your reading. " The Papiſts" ſays his Lordſhip " had, for many " years enjoyed a great calm, being, upon the " matter abſolved from the ſevereſt part of the " law, and diſpenſed with for the gentleſt, AND " WERE ONLY A PART OF THE REVENUE with- " out any probable danger of being made a ſacri- " fice to the law. *They were looked upon as good* " *ſubjects* at court, and good neighbours in the " country, *all the reſtraints and reproaches of former* " *times being forgotten.* BUT, THEY WERE NOT " PRUDENT MANAGERS OF THIS PROSPERITY, " BEING TWO ELATE AND TRANSPORTED with " the protection and connivance they received. " Though I am perſuaded their numbers en- " creaſed not, their *pomp and boldneſs did to that* " *degree that, as if they affected to be thought danger-* " *ous to the ſtate.* They appeared more publicly, " entertained and urged conferences more avow- " edly, than had been before known—and grew

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" not only ſecret contrivers, but public profeſſed " promoters, of, and miniſters in, the moſt odious " and moſt grievous projects". (Hiſtory of the Rebellion vol. 1. p. 84.)

His Lordſhip was only a prophane hiſtorian; but without attributing the ſpirit of prophecy to his writings, he has here certainly given too true a ſtate of that conduct, which ye are tempted to purſue.

Conſider now the principles of thoſe, in union with whom, you are called upon thus to forfeit all that was honourable and ſafe in your known character.

The Preſbyterians in this country are, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, in a civil view, independants. It is not becauſe our mode of worſhip, in any of its particulars, is irreconcileable to them, that they are enemies to our church eſtabliſhment. It is not becauſe your ceremonies or your faith contain any thing leſs offenſive to them, that they are now ſo much your friends. Enemies alike to both our ſyſtems, and certainly not

not more friendly or civil to your idolatries than ours, (for they apply the term to us all,) they fidget and contort under our eſtabliſhment, becauſe it is their principle to pull down and level all eſtabliſhments, either of policy or hierarchy. And they would be glad to uſe your impatience and diſcontent, if ſentiments of ſuch a nature ſhould become prevalent amongſt you, in order, not to mend your condition, but to better their own, while their object is to proſtrate, both in church and ſtate, every thing which has the appearance of eſtabliſhment, or implies a neceſſity of rank and ſubordination.

The inducement, which they hold out to you, for the purpoſe of bringing you to join in their "ſolemn league and covenant" now "that we "and our poſterity after us may as brethren live "in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to "dwell in the midſt of us" (Clarendon's Rebellion vol. 2. page 233.) is exactly of the ſame kind with that, which actuated their anceſtors, when another "ſolemn league and covenant" was entered into "that they, without reſpect of perſons," may endeavour the extirpation of *Popery*, Prelacy,

that

(that is church government by Archbiſhops, Biſhops, their Chancellors, Commiſſaries Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all their Eccleſiaſtical Officers depending on that hierarchy *ſuperſtition*, *herecy*, *ſchiſm*, &c.)

Preſbyterians in all matters of diſcipline, they are not, in this country, like their brethern in Scotland, and upon the Continent, inclined to the only National Church that, in any of theſe places their ſect has eſtabliſhed. To ſuppoſe that they would peaceably be brought to ſubmit to your equality, is only more ridiculous than the vain imagination, that equality would content you. See from their own account how much you would profit by a change if they were to become your rulers. In this kingdom, where they are not prevalent, no men effect ſo much liberality of ſentiment, with reſpect to the equal participation of power, and the equal diſtribution of offices. In deſcribing their ſituation in Holland, where their religion is eſtabliſhed, hear the Scotch Preſbyterian, Mr. Guthrie, praiſing the liberality of their Government. "The eſtabliſhed religion "here is the Preſbyterian or Calviniſm. *None*

"*but*

" *but Preſbyterians are admitted into any office or* " *poſt in the Government* ; excepting the army. Yet " all religions and ſects are tolerated and have " their reſpective meetings or aſſemblies for pub- " lic worſhip, among which the *Papiſts and Jews* " are very numerous." Guthrie's Geographical Grammar, title, Netherlands?

Ye have ſworn allegiance to your Sovereign. And is it with the Bible in one hand, and the Rights of Man in the other, that you would follow Mr. Paine in erecting a Republic on the ruins of your Monarchy.

Ye " reſpect the Peerage, the ornament of the " ſtate and the bulwark of the people." And is it with Mr. Paine and his diſciples, that you would aſſociate to throw aſide " the baby cloaths " of Count and Duke, and breech yourſelves in " manhood."—Are you " who can only pro- " nounce on the conſtitution as aliens by ſpecula- " tion," prepared to ſay that the ariſtocratical part of that conſtitution is ſo detrimental to its exiſtence, that the whole body of nobility ſhould be levelled.

Ye "ſolicit a ſhare of intereſt in the exiſtence "of the Commons:" What Commons? The Commons, of whom your allies, the Society of united Iriſhmen of Dublin, ſay "That they have "not the ſmalleſt reſpect for the people or believe "themſelves their legal repreſentatives; that the "great majority of that Houſe conſider them-"ſelves as the repreſentatives of their own money "or the hired ſervants of the Engliſh Govern-"ment, whoſe Miniſter here is appointed for the "ſole purpoſe of dealing out corruption to them." Are you fitted to ſay, that you ſolicit a ſhare in the exiſtence of the Commons, that ye may be freed from this "State of abject ſlavery, by a "compleat and radical reform in Parliament?" Are you ready to ſanctify the ſeditious paradox, that "three hundred gentlemen of Ireland, girt "with ſwords, the repreſentatives of the armed "force of Ireland," had a conſtitutional right of dictating to the Parliament of Ireland, terms, under which the independence of that Parliament was to be encreaſed?

It is complained on your behalf that "it adds "the inſult of mockery to the misfortune of the "Iriſh

" Iriſh Catholics, that the number of perſons ag-
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" murs." I forbear to comment on the ſtyle or accuracy of this paſſage. But I am glad to find that, by the author or authors of that performance, (if it had *authors*) it is allowed to be *a reaſon* and an *argument* for, paradoxical as it may ſeem, I am ſatisfied that, for the preſent, you will think it a good argument and a good reaſon.

When your collective and generical character is protruded into the fore ground of a great political eidophuſicon, if ye will judge of this poſition with ſafety, ye muſt patiently conſider what that character is. Of two exhibitions, it will beſt become your wiſdom to conſider, with the more indulgent kindneſs, that, by which your vanity is the leſs flattered. It will beſt ſuit with a philoſophical and firm mind, to look with the greater ſuſpicion upon that portrait, which ſolicits your complacency, not by its truth, nor its chaſtity,

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but by the ſymmetry of its features, and the beauty of its colouring.

It is neceſſary to qualify theſe plaintive expreſſions, by interpreting " redreſs of grievances" as they are obviouſly and undiſguiſedly intended, to mean nothing more nor leſs than an entire participation of all the executive and legiſlative functions.

Ye cannot, and I am ſure ye ſhould not wiſh to, deny, that there is not to be met with an example of perſeverance in the cauſe of religion, beyond that which has been exhibited by the Roman Catholics of Ireland. In your diſcipline ye are rigid. Even under the ſevereſt penalties againſt your worſhip, your rage for making proſelytes was commenſurate with the zeal, which is ſo naturally excited by the fervour of martyrdom ; ye are perſuaded that your religion is peculiarly ſelected as the means of obtaining the mercy of heaven. It is your faith, that, out of the pale of your church, ſalvation is not to be found. As conſcientious men, ye have abided long by your religion ; and he does not know the com-

forts

forts of a good conſcience, who diſreſpects you for your Tenacity. As conſcientious men, ye have been remarkable in your activity for the converſion of others. It is a natural direction for the activity of a benevolent mind, intereſted in the higheſt of all poſſible concerns, the eternal happineſs of, what it thinks, a miſguided fellow creature. As a political body it would be ridiculous to inſinuate that, in your eſtabliſhment and power, ye have not, always, been eminently jealous of rivalſhip. When there is demanded for you a full ſhare in the legiſlature, it is abſurd to ſuppoſe that, if ye were indulged in it, the next ſtep would be any other than an attempt on your part to ſecure the aſcendancy of your hierarchy: and what a ſcene of inteſtine broils and ruin your country muſt exhibit on ſuch an effort, reſiſted as it muſt be, by the whole force of the Preſbyterian body, I leave you to conjecture. That it would be our lot, unheard and unregarded to ſolicit toleration for our Proteſtant churches, would be a conſideration of little moment. The ſame reſolution which drives them to bring the roof and the foundation of things together, would hardly deſert them, when the whole pile

ſhould

ſhould be in ruins. The ſame reſolution, that kept you up againſt ſo many rigours, and, in which ye have perſiſted under ſo many temptations, muſt be formed upon ſome other than human principles, if it were to quit you, which I do not find it ever did, in the plenitude of power: And the anxiety, as well as the arguments, of thoſe, who demand that power for you, ſhew pretty plainly how far they, at leaſt, are to be truſted for a reciprocation of that equality, which they require.

If I were not, in fact, anſwering a ſet of men, whoſe principle is no other than the moſt unqualified faction can make it, the name of Lord of Bolingbroke would ſcarcely be found in theſe pages. But they will not reject the authority of an advocate, from whom faction always derived ſo much, and to whoſe aſſiſtance religion and order were always ſo little indebted. "The good of ſociety" ſays he in his letter to Sir William Windham "may require that no perſon ſhould "be deprived of the protection of the govern-"ment on account of his opinions on religious "matters. *But it does not follow from hence, that*

"*men*

" *men ought to be truſted in any degree in the preſerva-*
" *tion of the eſtabliſhment who muſt, to be conſiſtent*
" *with themſelves, endeavour the ſubverſion of that*
" *which is eſtabliſhed.* An indulgence to conſci-
" ences, which the prejudices of education and
" long habits have rendered ſcrupulous, may be
" agreeable to the rules of good policy, and
" humanity. Yet will it hardly follow from
" thence, that a government is under any obli-
" gation to indulge a tenderneſs of conſcience to
" come ; or connive at the propagating of thoſe
" prejudices and at the forming of thoſe habits.
" The evil effect is without remedy and may,
" therefore, merit indulgence ; but the evil cauſe
" is to be prevented, and can therefore be entitled
" to none."

It is not to be diſputed that your numbers, as ye are circumſtanced, afford a ſtrong reaſon why ye ought not to be admitted to the legiſlature. The men amongſt you of name and wealth and patronage do not deſire it, and, inſtead of thinking that the Roman Catholic cauſe would benefit by the ſucceſs of thoſe endeavours, to which ye are excited, the landed intereſt of your perſuaſion

have

have publicly decided againſt joining in them. The monied intereſt, here, has diſclaimed them. And the only perſons, by whom this privilege is ſought, are thoſe in a middle ſtate of amphibious dependencies, and connections, with little money and leſs land, or little land and no money, who aſpire to be the rulers of this country, and under whoſe uncuſtomed government, your wealth and character would carry juſt as little weight as ours. Theſe are the men, who, between, the activity of an uncertain and unprofitable mercantile occupation, and the oſcitancy of ſilent domeſtic liſtleſs exiſtence, ſtruggle and flutter and wriggle themſelves into your political affairs, to acquire a little offenſive political character.

I reſt here for credit with you, on a common principle with that which is affected by your concealed enemies, and your uſeleſs friends. *Your attachment to the conſtitution.* The conſtitution of this country conſiſts of a very wiſe and artificial arrangement of certain correſpondent and cooperating members, by which the frame of ſociety is connected and regulated and governed. Theſe members are a Proteſtant Hereditary King,

a Pro-

a Proteſtant Hereditary Houſe of Lords, including a bench of Proteſtant Biſhops, and a Proteſtant Houſe of Commons, choſen by the Proteſtant Electors of Ireland.

Let me again ennumerate them.

Ye have a Proteſtant King, deriving his rights to the crown by an hereditary title, endowed with prerogatives, which, by the covenant of our conſtitution, are entruſted to his hands, only for the advantage of thoſe, whom it is his pride to govern, and his duty to govern according to law. And he is enriched with revenues, (ſome of which are hereditary too), in the very application of which, the firſt and moſt poignant reflection of humility is excited in his boſom—the reflection, that, in proportion as they tend to encreaſe his ſplendour, or to extend his bounty, as they enrich his family, or ſwell his power, the pride and the munificence, of which he is but inſtrumentally a medium, are his people's and not his own.

Mr. De Lolme, the citizen of Geneva, a man not lukewarm, when liberty was his theme, will

tell you the uſe of this power which is entruſted to your Sovereign—" It is this " ſays he" which has " ſuppreſſed, and if I may ſay ſo weeded out all " thoſe *tyrannies ſometimes confederate with, and* " *ſometimes adverſe to each other*, which neceſſarily " tend to ſpring up in the middle of civil ſocieties " and are the more terrible as they feel them- " ſelves leſs firmly eſtabliſhed."

But this Proteſtant King is bound by the expreſs terms of his ſovereignty, by his coronation oath, " to the utmoſt of his power to maintain the " laws of God, the true profeſſion of the goſpel, " and the Proteſtant reformed religion eſtabliſhed " by the law, and to preſerve unto the Biſhops " and Clergy of this realm, and to the churches " committed to their charge, all ſuch rights and " priviliges as by law do or ſhall appertain unto " them or any of them."

Ye have a Proteſtant hereditary Houſe of Lords, conſiſting of the men who, in fact repreſent the great bulk of your landed property, and ſtand as a middle term in the political gradation, between the well meant, zealous, patriotic, but

often

often inconſiderate, tendency of the popular repreſentative, and the other tendency, naturally deſpotic, of the monarchical principle. Between two operating powers ſo contraventional of each other as theſe, the experience of man does not furniſh, a more effectual correction, than this, of a *permanent hereditary body*, of which every individual member is independent of his Creator, from the moment of his creation, and, by the moſt irreſiſtible of all motives, his ſelf-intereſt, directed to conſult the happineſs and proſperity of the people, from whoſe ſubordination his ſecurity and ſtrength are acquired, and by whoſe induſtry, he becomes opulent and powerful.

Ye have a Proteſtant Houſe of Commons, choſen under the old, tried, ſafe, and approved forms of the conſtitution. The members of that body are not elected according to the plan of "all the Volunteer Companies of Belfaſt" without any diſtinction of "birth, poſſeſſions, or talents". They are not elected after the manner of the National Aſſembly, upon the baſis of territory; and thoſe, whoſe reveries and invectives diſturb you, would probably not wiſh for ſuch a principle

of delegation: Nor are they elected on the baſis of population; which is one of the chimeras propoſed for your adoption; nor are they elected on the baſis of contribution; by which mode thoſe men would gain as little power as by any of the others. They are, not at all ſimilar, in their origin or their practices to the national repreſentatives of the cantons, or communes, or departments, in the French Anarchy. But this is the Houſe of Commons, from whom you have an octennial bill, and a free trade bill, and an habeas corpus act, and you have the undiſturbed celebration of your religious worſhip, and liberty to educate your children at home in the principles of that religion, and to buy them eſtates in fee ſimple.

And this is the veſſel to the guidance and management of which, you are ſaid to aſpire! while it is only by making it a wreck, and plunging, in diſſolution, both yourſelves and every thing elſe within it, that your expectations can be purſued with any plauſibility. Shame on the calumny! and ſhame can only fail of lighting upon it, and its fabricators, if you want the ſpirit and energy

to

to vindicate your character, from the attempts that have been made, to ſwindle on the credit of your name in ſuch a traffic of the conſtitution.

Ye are good friends to the conſtitution as it is, and in that caſe it would be ridiculous to alter it for your accommodation—or—ye intend to be good ſubjects under the conſtitution that ſhall be, if a revolution can be effected, by which, as a neceſſary conſequence, every principle of the preſent ſyſtem of your government muſt be changed. Ye therefore aſk a favour, which it would be uſeleſs to grant, and idle to ſolicit; or ye demand a right, which can only be conceded with the ruin of thoſe who yield it.

When I ſay it is not your intereſt to be admitted to the legiſlature, I remember that I am addreſſing the character, the honour, the influence, and the property of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. I am not exciting a rabble, to whom violence will always be acceptable; nor recommending rebellion, which to a rabble only can offer advantages; nor complaining to a rabble, that they are, ſometimes, and juſtly, called by their right name. But I am ſtating to *you* why it behoves

you

you, as much as, us to reſiſt theſe innovations, and the rabble, by which they are fomented. Think you if the Northern Whigs, and the Whigs of the Capital, and the Society of United Iriſhmen of Belfaſt, and the Society of United Iriſhmen of Dublin, and their Chairmen and Secretaries were to ſucced in their ill-judged ſpeculations, that they would ſeek patronage from your reſpectability, or countenance from your wiſdom? They have tried both already, and have failed. They would tell you, that in the ſucceſs of an enterprize, to which your valour had not contributed, your timidity ſhould not participate; that your advice and counſel were unneceſſary, to the perfection of a ſyſtem, that their policy had planned, and their labours erected. Ye might ſhare with them the aſcendancy of your common religion when that aſcendancy ſhouldbe ſecured (about the time of the Greek Calends); ye might thank their mean and vulgart urbulence, if your properties and perſons were preſerved from the inſecurity and inſult of its licentiouſneſs. But to entruſt power into your hands would be prepoſterous. Is it from you that the author of the Rights of Man would look for ſupport or confederacy? Is it by your hands

that

that the Monarchy is to be annihilated, and the Houſe of Lords pulled down as a burdenſome manſion for uſurpers? Is it upon you the Belfaſt Society would rely for demoliſhing the Bench of Biſhops, and overturning the National Church to leave us no church in its place? Are you the men, for whom the Northern Whig would beat to arms, to aſſert the rights of the people, after the manner of Mr. Paine, to reform the legiſlature? Is it your concurrence that the Belfaſt Secretary would ſeek with the impudent and ridiculous aſſertions that we have no national government?

Yes; theſe men tell you a revolution in this country could be effected under previons ſtipulated regulations, and determined by certain preciſe lines of circumvallation—or as they call it, compact.

Of all the idleneſs that has been babbled about you, nothing is ſo idle as this, that a revolution in this country may be a work of compact. Between the preſent Government as it ſtands, and thoſe who deſire to ſet up a different and adverſe ſyſtem in its place, what compact can be made, which

which ſhall bind the one or ſerve the other, for a moment after the one ſhall have loſt all power, and the other have poſſeſſed it? They, in whom all the ſtrength of the ſtate ſhould be veſted, and who ſhould have ſought and ſtruggled for, and acquired ſtrength for no other earthly purpoſe than to level all the ancient bulwarks of the conſtitution, would think it a ſtrange interpretation of compact, which ſhould tie up their hands from the only exerciſe of power, to which they naturally inclined—And thoſe, who ſhould be viſionary enough to relinquiſh all their ſhare in the conſtitution, upon compact, would find that, where there is no mutuality of intereſt in upholding a contract, the ties of honour, and the remembrance of kindneſs are weak and contemptible corroborations of political compact.

As between the different members of that cabal, which has ariſen againſt the conſtitution, I have no doubt that the compact is formed; and a compact they will tell you it will be poſſible to uphold, when they ſhall come to diſſect and anatomize the political body.

I remember

I remember to have read of a compact of this kind. When Antony and Octavius confederated under pretence of freeing the Roman people from the tyranny of thoſe, who had murdered Ceaſar a little before, under a ſimilar affectation for "the people," they made a compact: Each ſacrificed, on his own ſide, to the jealouſy or the vengeance of the other, the deareſt of his connections, and the moſt exalted of his friends. Carnage and proſcription were the ligaments by which, in their compact they were bound. Your adviſers have given a ſpecimen, already, how willingly they would ſtrengthen the bond of unity in your compact by ſimilar devotions. It is no ſecret that in one the fulleſt meeting or meetings of Popiſh malcontents in this city, (I do not know which of their titles was in rotation on the night of that aſſemblage,) It was violently debated upon motion, whether the effigy of Lord Kenmare ſhould not be carried in ſolemn proceſſion through our ſtreets, attended by the Roman Catholics, and burned on a gibbet. And the queſtion, amongſt a very numerous multitude, was carried in the negative by a majority of but two voices.

For though abundantly they lack diſcretion
Yet they are paſſing cowardly.

It is no ſecret that, amongſt a very great number of theſe Catholic Republicans, it was determined, that, under the new Government, the whole county of Kerry ſhould, by one blur of its omnipotence, be for ever excluded from all legiſlative power, becauſe the people of that county have thought it ſafe to abide by a conſtitution, under which, they had proſpered and been cheriſhed. And, from the general temper of their reſolutions, it ſeems by far the more likely conjecture that this expatriation has been determined.

Theſe are the ſpecimens of their compacting capacities, when exerciſed in the management and diſtribution of your own power, and the debaſement of your own orders. And by theſe ſpecimens, do the actors in them expect that your power will ſubmit to be vindicated by their energy, and your prejudices will vaniſh at their barterings and their compacts.

Now

Now try the "compact" between the conſpirators themſelves.

As between the Roman Catholics and the Preſbyterians, the force of the latter is incomparatively ſuperior. Force is not always commenſurate with numbers. You have more men: they more ſoldiers: for your ſubordination is more tame and ignorant than their inquſitive, and learned unquiet. Among you the wealthy envy not thoſe who poſſeſs more greatneſs and endure more both of labour and obloquy than themſelves. They think a reſpectable peaceful private ſubject has in general a more comfortable life, than a public miniſter, tantalized by the vexatious importunities of his dependants, and worried in the drudgery of office, if he be an underling, or, embarraſſed by the intrigues and perplexities of a reſponſible ſtation, if he be a ſuperior. Among you the poor, who are wiſe, (wiſdom is not always the reſult of learning nor the companion of eloquence) will be thankful for the bleſſings of labour, and the comforts of peace. They will pay their rents to their landlords, be-

cauſe it is their compact: they will pay their tythes to the eſtabliſhed clergy, becauſe they know and feel, by daily experience, that, after all our invectives againſt prieſt-craft and proctors, they can make a better and more advantageous bargain for the tythe of the land with the clergyman, than they could by taking the land, if it were tythe free, from the layman. They will obey the law, which protects their cottages and ſecures their liberty. They will love God, and honour the King, and thrive, and be contented.

Among them, the great are uneaſy, not ſo much becauſe they are ambitious of power in themſelves, as becauſe they are impatient of it in others. Not that they wiſh ſo much to be rulers, as that there ſhould be no rulers at all. And the low among them differ from their ſuperiors only in this, that, as they have leſs to riſk by convulſion, they think convulſion leſs ruinous, and would excite it ſooner, if it promiſed them to aboliſh and obliterate the frame and memory of our government.

As between the reſpectable and valuable of the two ſects, and the mob of both, the compariſon

is ſtill more diſcouraging. Your unprincipled idlers would turn even againſt yourſelves, rather than fail, and ſacrifice their religion on the ſame altar with their loyalty, to obtain a participation in the prevalent anarchy. Their vulgar levellers, the groſs and muddy dregs which are ever to be found at the bottom of every political fermentation, would obſcure whatever is worthy or elevated amongſt them. Under an ill concerted aſſociation of tags and remnants like this, the only lot to which ye are tempted would be, with repentant confuſion and wonder, to acknowledge the myſterious workings of the Almighty, and to make it "the laſt effort of your faith, not to "repine againſt his Providence."

Upon whatever account we value the conſtitution we ſhould not trifle with the laws. Even ill laws well obſerved are better than good ones deſpiſed or neglected. A well meaning and regular ignorance is better than a diſorderly and inconſtant knowledge. I cannot now recollect my authority for this paſſage; but I ſhall carry the ſentiment with me to my grave. And let the fate or reception of this letter be what it may; though, as one of your preachers promiſes

promiſes himſelf of his own addreſs to you, " Though it ſhould become the moſt unpopular " of opinions," it will be a conſolation with me to the laſt, that, by that ſentiment I am ſincerely actuated.

I am aware of the inequality of the conteſt in which I have embarked.

I know how difficult a thing it is to find ſceptics againſt the orthodoxy of that man, who ſhall preach up to the rabble, that civil inſtitutions are no further efficacious, than as they are the images or repreſentatives of that ſyſtem of government, which God hath erected in the boſom of man, whoſe eternal law is his reaſon, whoſe conſent is his magiſtracy, and whoſe will is his conſcience.

But I know, too, that his oratory deſerves little praiſe, either for its excellence or its deſign, who can only perſuade the populace, hot and giddy as they are, that liberty conſiſts only in the reſumption of power—that the ſecurity of the law is but the proof of ſlavery in thoſe who ſubmit to it,

and

and that the freedom, which is alone worth their acceptance, is the equal right of all men, to do all things, reſiſt all things, and enjoy all things alike.

Such an orator and ſuch a writer, I know, will ſeldom remit his aſſiduity and will not always entirely fail in his hopes that the name of liberty may be prophaned and, trumpeted through the country by the licentious fragments of ſociety: that the ſword of Juſtice may be rent from the hands of Magiſtracy, and that no law may remain, but what ſhall be found in the will of a diſorderly and ignorant multitude—

Ineptus populus qui ſtupet in titulis et imaginibus.

Of ſuch a rabble, I know alſo, that, in every age and every nation, where it has been excited, the power has been irreſiſtible. It is great in pulling down and bringing to ruin. It may lay waſte the moſt proſperous nation. It may deſtroy the beſt eſtabliſhed conſtitution upon earth; but it never yet was known to erect the compaſs of a cottage for the habitation of Liberty, of Law, of Plenty, or of Peace.

I know

I know that, by numbers in the world, they who are moſt noiſy, will be deemed moſt eloquent, and they, who are moſt eloquent, will be truſted in public adminiſtrations, as the moſt faithful, as well as the moſt competent. To thoſe, by whom the former of theſe concluſions is drawn, I will offer no obſervation. The latter reminds me of a ſaying of Lord Lyttleton, in his famous Perſian Letters, which may be worth the remembrance. "Good laws," ſays he "have "been eſtabliſhed by wiſe men, who were far "from being eloquent; and eloquent men, who "were far from being wiſe, have every where "deſtroyed or corrupted them: And the ſame "periods which have carried eloquence to its per-"fection, have almoſt always been fatal to Li-"berty. The Republics of Greece, and, that of "Rome, did not ſee their moſt celebrated ora-"tors, till the very moment that their conſtitu-"tions were overturned. And how, indeed, "ſhould it be otherwiſe? When once it be-"comes a faſhion to advance men to dignity and "power, not for the good counſel that they give, "but for an agreeable method of recommending

bad

" bad ones, it is impoſſible that a government ſo " adminiſtered can long ſubſiſt."

I am not ignorant that thoſe, who moſt pathetically commiſerate your ſituation will be readily credited, for feeling moſt ſenſibly, and moſt accurately knowing, all the catalogue of your imaginary mortifications.

From ſuch men, (for ſuch men there are,) it is not likely that a certain ſpecies of applauſe and popularity can long be withheld. Of thoſe, whoſe faculties are fitted to wonder, the gaping curioſity of unwiſe reſtleſſneſs will commend their induſtry, and exalt their philantrophy. They have diſcovered ſources of diſcontent, with which diſcontent had yet been unacquainted—they have arouſed feelings for ſufferance, of which feeling before had been ignorant, and pointed miſchiefs to horror, which horror hitherto never had ſeen.

To thoſe, however, who beſtow upon ſuch men the gratitude that reaſon directs to a benefactor, the time will come, that their acknowledgments

will appear to have been haſty, when they find that he, who opened their eyes, did not ſhew them their real ſituation, and they will judge the panegyric miſplaced, which has been beſtowed upon the genius, that neither ſought the means of their content, nor promoted the ſecurity of their freedom; but ſpent its talent, and delighted its imagination, in diſcovering the means, by which that content might be corroded, and that happineſs rendered inſecure.

I know ſuch men. I know a man of this kind will be able to raiſe an audience by his exclamations and wailings, *that the time is paſt, when the ſtubborn and unconquered ſpirit of his countrymen diſdained the baſe ſervility of ſubmiſſion, and the impetuous fury of Iriſh valour burſt upon the head of Engliſh power:* And he will not want thoſe who will condole with him on the calamity that the nation of warriors is become a nation of traders, and the Iſland of Saints has degenerated into a mart of commerce.

But, to the ridicule of Folly, Reaſon will not always urge her admonitions in vain. To the clamours of riot, ſhe will not always oppoſe her arguments

arguments without effect. And, it is a bleſſing, ſufficient, perhaps, to counterpoiſe the curſe of temporary infatuations, that Folly has been ſo often taught the leſſons of experience, and that captious diſcontent is driven, from its own perplexities and dangers, to ſeek, under old and original forms, ſecurity from thoſe embarraſſments and evils, to which by its fickle turbulence it had become liable.

FINIS.

15 JY 64